

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

S E C R E T TEL AVIV 3165

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF, US
SUBJECT: ALLON'S LIKELY POSITIONS IN HIS TALKS WITH SECRETARY VANCE

REFS: (A) TEL AVIV 0840, (B) TEL AVIV 0875

1. SINCE SECRETARY VANCE VISITED THE MIDDLE EAST IN MID-FEBRUARY, KICKING OFF THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS IN THIS TROUBLED AREA OF THE WORLD, THERE HAVE BEEN NO PERCEPTIBLE CHANGES IN ISRAELI POLICY LINES ON THE KEY ISSUES OF PEACE, TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWAL, BORDERS, AND THE PALESTINIANS. WHILE WAITING FOR CHANGES ON THE ARAB SIDE, THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL (GOI) HAS REHEARSED FOR PUBLIC BENEFIT ITS STANDARD FORMULATIONS ON THE ISRAELI-ARAB SITUATION THROUGHOUT THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, WHICH HAVE BEEN FILLED WITH A ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS BY HEADS-OF-STATE IN WASHINGTON, TRIPS BY ARAFAT AND ASAD TO
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MOSCOW, AND THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL. (ADDED TO THESE MAIN EVENTS HAVE BEEN THE SIDESHOWS OF THE KHARTOUM MINI-SUMMIT, THE AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT IN CAIRO, AND THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE IN LEBANON.)

2. THAT THERE HAVE BEEN NO DIVIATIONS FROM STANDARD ISRAELI POSITIONS WAS TO HAVE BEEN EXPECTED: IT WAS FAIRLY CLEAR ALREADY LAST NOVEMBER THAT THE ISRAELI ELECTION CAMPAIGN WOULD PUTT OFF ANY REAL POSSIBILITY OF "MOVEMENT" ON THE NEGOTIATIONS FRONT. EVEN SO, THERE HAS BEEN A REMARKABLE CONSISTENCY IN THE ALIGNMENT-LED GOI POSITIONS, GIVEN THE RABIN-PERES BATTLE FOR LABOR PARTY PRIMACY AND THE SUBSEQUENT REVERSAL OF THE LEADERSHIP DECISION MADE AT THE FEBRUARY CONVENTION.

3. CONSIDERING THAT FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON'S MEETING WITH SECRETARY VANCE WILL FALL WITHIN THE FINAL WEEK OF THE ISRAELI ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THE EMBASSY DOES NOT EXPECT ALLON TO ADOPT A VERY FORWARD ISRAELI POSITION. FROM ALL INDICATIONS, HE WILL:

--REAFFIRM ISRAEL'S WILLINGNESS TO GO TO A RESUMED GENEVA CONFERENCE UNDER ITS ORIGINAL TERMS, I.E., WITHOUT THE PLO. THIS REAFFIRMATION WILL BE PRO FORMA, AND ALLON WILL FORCEFULLY UNDERLINE ISRAEL'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE FOR FURTHER INTERIM AGREEMENTS WITH SYRIA AND EQYPT. WE WILL BE NEGATIVE ABOUT AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH JORDAN.

--MAINTAIN THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE U.S. AND ISRAEL TO COORDINATE CLOSELY THEIR RESPECTIVE MIDDLE EAST PEACE STRATEGIES, WHETHER IN LOOKING TOWARD GENEVA OR ELSEWHERE.

--INSIST THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT MAKE ANY MOVE TOWARD THE PLO, NEITHER IN ALLOWING THE ARAB STATES TO
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FINESSE THEIR OWN DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA, NOR IN ELABORATING ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S REFERENCE TO A PALESTINIAN "HOMELAND." HE MAY SAY THAT ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF WEST BANK RESIDENTS IN A JORDANIAN DELEGATION AND "WOULD NOT LOOK TOO CAREFULLY AT THEIR CREDENTIALS."

--EMPHASIZE THAT THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO PRESS THE ARABS FOR CONCESSIONS ON THE NATURE OF PEACE, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY PORTRAYING AS "COMPROMISES" THE GOI POSITIONS ON WITHDRAWAL AND THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

4. IN HIS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE RECENT ACTIVITIES OF ARAB LEADERS, ALLON CAN BE EXPECTED TO PLAY UP THE "NEGATIVE" RESULTS OF ASAD'S MOSCOW TRIP: THE SYRIANS HAVE IN EFFECT GIVEN THE SOVIETS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS EFFORTS, AND AVOIDED ANY ENDORSEMENT IN THE SYRIAN-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE OF BREZHNEV'S

TUC POSITIONS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE WILL ARGUE AGAIN, AS HE DID IN FEBRUARY, THAT IT IS IN THE JOINT INTEREST OF THE U.S. AND ISRAEL TO MINIMIZE SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. SOVIET ACQUIESCENCE IN THE SYRIAN ROLE IN LEBANON WILL ALSO BE MENTIONED.

5. WE ALSO EXPECT THAT ALLON MAY REFER TO SAUDI PRINCE FAHD'S RECENT REMARKS THAT SC RESOLUTION 242 IS NO LONGER RELEVANT AND THAT AN AGREEMENT ENDING THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY WOULD MEAN THE END OF THE BOYCOTT. THE FIRST STATEMENT WILL BE PROTRAYED AS AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERWRITE PLO REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA WHILE DISCARDING THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF 242 (SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA) AND THE SECOND AS MISLEADING, IN THAT SAUDI ARABIA, WHICH IS NOT A CONFRONTATION STATE, WOULD NOT BE A SIGNATORY OF ANY PEACE AGREEMENT.

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6. IN VIEW OF THE LIKELY LACK OF SUFFICIENT ARAB FLEXIBILITY TO WARRANT A COMPREHENSIVE GENEVA EFFORT, ALLON WILL ARGUE, IT MAY BE WISEST FOR THE U.S. TO PROBE THE ARABS FURTHER ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN END-OF-BELLIGERENCY AGREEMENT, PERHAPS WITHIN AN "INFORMAL, PRE-GENEVA" FRAMEWORK.

7. ISRAELI CONCERN OVER THE INTENTIONS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS, WE BELIEVE, BEEN RAISED SEVERAL NOTCHES SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE WASHINGTON VISITS BY AREA LEADERS. IT IS ALMOST UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED HERE THAT OUTSTANDING U.S.-ISRAELI "DISAGREEMENTS" OVER TERRITORIAL AND PALESTINIAN ISSUES MAY SOON LEAD TO A STRAIN IN OUR TRADITIONAL TIES; ALLON HAS SAID THIS EXPLICITLY TO THE CABINET. NEWSPAPER COMMENTATORS SPEAK SHARPLY OF ISRAEL "PAYING THE PRICE OF AMERICAN ILLUSIONS." THE LABOR PARTY PLATFORM EMPHASIZES "PREPARING THE PEOPLE TO STAND FIRM IN THE FACE OF PRESSURES AND ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS THAT THREATEN ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE." ALLON WILL PROBABLY SEEK THE SECRETARY'S CLARIFICATION OF RECENT ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS REGARDING TERRITORIAL AND PALESTINIAN ISSUES AND MAY WELL ASK FOR A PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

8. WE EXPECT THAT ALLON WILL RAISE FEW OR NO BILATERAL ISSUES. HE WILL PROBABLY REASSURE THE SECRETARY REGARDING PERES' LEADERSHIP QUALITIES AND HIS PERFORMANCE AS ACTING PRIME MINISTER AND WILL STRESS THE CONTINUITY OF ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY. HE IS LIKELY ALSO TO EXPRESS

GRATITUDE FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S SUPPORT FOR ANTI-BOYCOTT LEGISLATION.

9. WE BELIEVE THE SECRETARY SHOULD RAISE WITH ALLON THE RECENT ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AT MAS'HA

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AND STRESS THAT SUCH ACTIONS CAN ONLY COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS TO GO TO GENEVA FOR MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THE SECRETARY MAY WISH ALSO TO URGE CONTINUING CARE AND RESTRAINT IN LEBANON. SEEN FROM HERE, WE BELIEVE THE SECRETARY SHOULD URGE ALLON - IN FULL AWARENESS TO THE STRAINS AND DEMANDS OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL CAMPAIGN - TO BE THINKING CAREFULLY ABOUT HOW ISRAEL CAN SHOW A FORTHCOMING POSTURE REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS. DUNNIGAN

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